

Message Text

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21

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TAGS: PFOR, PINT, HU

SUBJ: HUNGARY AND THE HELSINKI SUMMIT

1. SUMMARY: SUMMIT MEETING IN HELSINKI PROVIDED KADAR REGIME WITH GOOD OPPORTUNITY TO GAIN INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION AS A SOVEREIGN EUROPEAN STATE AND TO ERASE MEMORIES OF 1956 REVOLUTION AND SOVIET INTERVENTION. IN MARKED CONTRAST TO BREZHNEV, KADAR'S HELSINKI SPEECH DISCUSSED BASKET THREE PROVISIONS IN DETAIL, TOOK A GENERALLY POSITIVE APPROACH TO THEM, AND SPECIFICALLY PLEDGED HUNGARY TO THEIR IMPLEMENTATION. HUNGARIANS EVEN TOOK PARTIAL CREDIT FOR CSCE, TRACING THEIR ROLE BACK TO 1969 BUDAPEST APPEAL OF COMMUNIST PARTIES. HUNGARIAN NEWS MEDIA AND FIRST SECRETARY CADAR NOT SURPRISINGLY HAILED SUMMIT AS HISTORICAL EVENT USHERING IN NEW ERA OF EUROPEAN COOPERATION. HUNGARIANS DOWNPLAYED EAST-WEST DIFFERENCES AND EMPHASIZED THAT THERE WERE NEITHER WINNERS NOR LOSERS AT HELSINKI AND THAT COMMON SENSE PREVAILED.

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END SUMMARY.

2. HUNGARIAN NEWS MEDIA HAVE PROVIDED EXTENSIVE COVERAGE OF MEETING IN HELSINKI, EMPHASIZING BENEFITS TO MANKIND AND SCOFFING AT THOSE IN WEST WHO CHARGE THAT WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES CAME OUT BEST. PARTY DAILY NEPSZABADSAG UNDERSCORED VIEW THAT AT CONFERENCE "THERE WERE NEITHER VICTORS NOR VANQUISHED" ECHOING LINE ADVANCED BY KADAR HIMSELF IN HELSINKI INTERVIEW WITH NEWSWEEK'S MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT. EUPHORIA OF CONFERENCE EVEN LED KADAR TO FORGET HIS GOOD PROLETARIAN ROOTS BY COMPARING HELSINKI SUMMIT TO 1815 CONGRESS OF VIENNA.

3. BECAUSE OF SOVIET ROLE IN 1956 REVOLUTION AND WAY KADAR CAME TO POWER, HIS REGIME HAS CONSTANTLY LABORED TO GAIN INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE AS LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT. HELSINKI MEETING PROVIDED KADAR WITH OPPORTUNITY TO DEMONSTRATE TO HIS OWN PEOPLE, AS WELL AS WORLD AT LARGE, HIS ACCEPTANCE BY OTHER LEADERS AS RECOGNIZED HEAD OF SOVEREIGN STATE. HUNGARIAN LEADERS VERY MUCH DESIRE TO IMPROVE THEIR IMAGE AND TO INCREASE THEIR CONTACT WITH NON-WARSAW PACT STATES.

4. KADAR'S SPEECH IN HELSINKI APPEARED TO US TO DIFFER SIGNIFICANTLY FROM THAT OF SOVIET AND OTHER EAST EUROPEAN LEADERS. IN WHAT APPEARED TO BE MARKED CONTRAST TO BREZHNEV, KADAR DEVOTED AN IMPORTANT SEGMENT OF HIS SPEECH TO AN ASSESSMENT OF BASKET THREE. ALTHOUGH WITH A FEW CAVEATS, KADAR IN A POSITIVE AND FAIRLY LIBERAL TONE STATED THAT HE SUPPORTED PROVISIONS LISTED IN SECTION ON HUMAN CONTACTS, SAID THAT HUNGARY HAS BEEN RESPONSIVE TO MANY OF THESE PROVISIONS IN PAST, AND PLEDGED HUNGARY TO THEIR IMPLEMENTATION IN FUTURE. HE SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED EACH OF PROVISIONS AND HIS REMARKS ALONG WITH HELSINKI TEXTS WERE CARRIED IN FULL BY HUNGARIAN MEDIA INCLUDING HSWP DAILY NEPSZABADSAG.

5. KADAR ALSO MADE A MOST UNUSUAL REMARK FOR HIM, SHOWING A FLASH OF NATIONALISM SELDOM SEEN IN PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY HUNGARIAN PARTY LEADERS. IN CONTEXT OF DISCUSSING SUFFERING INFLICTED ON HUNGARIAN PEOPLE BY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TWO WORLD WARS, KADAR SAID THAT "AFTER WORLD WAR I, HUNGARY LOST TWO-THIRDS OF ITS TERRITORY". THIS STATEMENT CERTAINLY MADE HUNGARIANS SIT UP AND TAKE NOTICE, AND WAS WELL RECEIVED BY TYPE OF PEOPLE OUTSIDE PARTY WHOSE SUPPORT HE APPEARS TO BE SEEKING RECENTLY EVEN MORE ASSIDUOUSLY THAN HE USUALLY DOES.

6. IN SPEECH ON RETURN, KADAR STRESSED THAT IT NOW

NECESSARY TO SHOW TANGIBLE PROGRESS IN ARMS REDUCTION TALKS IN VIENNA. IN CONVERSATION WITH UK FOREIGN SECRETARY CALLAGHAN, IN LATE JULY, KADAR SAID THAT HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT AND PARTY LEADERS TAKE SERIOUSLY THEIR OBLIGATIONS UNDER CSCE AND WILL BE PRESENTING LIST OF CONCRETE PROPOSALS IN FALL OF THIS YEAR IMPLEMENTING ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

7. COMMENT: TOGETHER WITH HIS EQUALLY MODERATE STATEMENTS ON HIS RETURN TO BUDAPEST, KADAR'S DECLARATIONS IN CONNECTION WITH HELSINKI MEETING REPRESENT SECOND TIME IN THREE MONTHS THAT HE HAS MADE NOTABLE LIBERAL MAJOR SPEECHES. IN HIS MAY ELECTION SPEECH AT DUNAUVAROS, KADAR LAID GREAT STRESS ON UNITY OF HUNGARIANS OUTSIDE OF AND WITHIN PARTY, MADE MARKEDLY CONCILIATORY REMARKS ABOUT CHURCHES, GENERALLY SOUNDING LIKE A WESTERN-TYPE POLITICIAN OUT TO INCREASE HIS POPULAR SUPPORT.

8. KADAR'S REFERENCE TO CONGRESS OF VIENNA IN HIS COMMENTS ON HELSINKI SUMMIT EXEMPLIFIES FREQUENT EFFORTS ON PART HIS REGIME TO RELATE CURRENT EVENTS TO HISTORY. HUNGARY'S CAREFUL RESTORATION OF HISTORICAL MONUMENTS INCLUDING CATHEDRALS, CHURCH MUSEUMS AND ROYAL CASTLE, ALSO ILLUSTRATE A DELIBERATE GOH POLICY OF PORTRAYING PRESENT REGIME AS A NATURAL HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT, THUS STRENGTHENING ITS IMAGE OF LEGITIMACY.

9. ONE WELL-INFORMED HUNGARIAN TELLS US THAT KADAR MAY HAVE MADE HIS BASKET THREE REMARKS AS THE DESIGNATED SPOKESMAN ON THE SUBJECT FOR THE SOCIALIST CAMP. HUSAK AND HONECKER, HE SAYS, WERE CLEARLY NOT IN A POSITION TO DO SO, ZHIVKOV'S VOICE WOULD HAVE BEEN TOO MINOR, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AND BETWEEN GIEREK AND KADAR, HE DECLARES, IT WILL UNDOUBTEDLY DO THE LATTER'S IMAGE MORE GOOD, PARTICULARLY CONSIDERING HOW HE CAME TO POWER. IF THIS INFORMATION IS CORRECT, FACT THAT SOVIETS WOULD ASSIGN TASK TO KADAR IS WORTHY OF NOTE. IT ATTESTS TO HIS STRENGTH BOTH INTERNALLY AND VIS-A-VIS MOSCOW, AND SUPPORTS CONTENTION THAT HIS POLITICAL STANDING IS SOLID. IF HE NOW PROCEEDS TO IMPLEMENT BASKET THREE PROVISIONS IN GOOD FAITH, HE WILL HAVE TAKEN A STEP IN FOREIGN POLICY FIELD WHICH ALL HUNGARIANS WILL WELCOME. MUDD

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